The CRISIS

OCTOBER, 1959 15¢

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NATIONAL BOARD CALLS FOR ALL-OUT RENEWAL CAMPAIGN

ATTENTION: NAACP OFFICERS, MEMBERS, AND WORKERS

At its meeting on September 14, the National Board of Directors adopted the following resolution:

> "The National Board of Directors NAACP strongly urges that NAACP units and leaders throughout the country give special attention to organizing and conducting fall membership renewal campaigns in order that we may realize our goal of one-half million members before the close of our 50th Anniversary year. The National Board further appeals to every interested man and woman, and particularly youth and the leaders of the Negro community throughout our Nation, to join hands with the NAACP in its effort to reach the 50th Anniversary Goal of 500,000 Members."

Your response to this appeal will be appreciated. Branch officers are asked to act immediately to set up Fall Renewal Campaigns and to enlist community-wide support through the enlistment of members who will canvass their neighborhoods, their churches, and friends for memberships and/or renewals.

WE NEED YOUR HELP

Each member can help by getting two or more additional members and reporting them through the local Branch or to the National Office for credit to the Branch before December 15. We count on your continued loyalty and support.

Sincerely yours,

ROY WILKINS
Executive Secretary

50th ANNIVERSARY MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN
GOAL: 500,000 MEMBERS

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I am enclosing $.....for the following memberships:

(Name)	(Address)	(Amount)
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.....	.....	$.....
.....	.....	$.....
.....	.....	$.....
.....	.....	$.....

(List additional memberships and/or contributions on separate sheet)

Solicited by: Name: .....

Address: .....

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

Vol. 66, No. 8 **Whole Number 566**

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October, 1959

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Dr. J. Raymond Henderson (2nd from R), minister, Second Baptist Church, Los Angeles, California, presents largest individual church contribution (from his church) of $11,000 to NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins during 50th annual NAACP convention in New York City. Churches gave $45,000 to the NAACP in response to a drive launched by Dr. Henderson. Also shown in the photo (from L) are Vernon Dunlap, chairman deacon board; Dr. E. I. Robinson, chairman trustee board; and Mrs. J. Raymond Henderson.—*Cecil Layne Photo*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.* THE CRISIS *is published monthly from October to May inclusive and bimonthly June-July and August-September by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., at 20 West 40th Street, New York* 18, *N. Y., Arthur B. Spingarn, president; John Hammond, vice-president; Samuel Williams, secretary; Theodore Spaulding, treasurer; and Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15 *cents a copy. Foreign subscription* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given, and three weeks notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Reentered as second class matter July 22, 1949, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879.

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Prescription for Harlem

By William McPeak

AFTER three fairly fruitful and frequently frustrating years in Harlem I find myself joining those many "experts" who are currently diagnosing the ills of the community in which I work and live.

I am a Catholic Priest. My mind, thank God, is enlightened by the Catholic faith and my mission is the apostolate of Christ's Church. I hope that what I write will aid that apostolate but I am not writing as a representative of the Church nor with the purpose of teaching Christian doctrine. My opinions are personal and my theories, if they must be categorized, are those of an amateur social psychologist.

FATHER WILLIAM McPEAK was assigned to All Saints Parish in Harlem three years ago after serving seven years in the Air Force. He has lived in Panama, Japan and Korea. He was responsible for the very successful "Day of Prayer for Church Unity and Social Justice" held at All Saints last January, which was attended by more than 1,000 persons.

I used to think that prejudice was due to ignorance. I have since learned that this is not necessarily so. Ignorance intensifies prejudice but knowledge does not always cure it. I had always thought that constant association of the two races would erode racial antagonisms. Sometimes it does; at other times the prejudice is intensified. I know policemen in Harlem who are most bitterly prejudiced; I know others who have, over the years, developed a sincere appreciation and warm liking for Negroes.

I know white professionals who have worked in Harlem for many years with the best of intentions and good will, yet they have always maintained a superior professional attitude, much like that of a teacher towards a backward pupil. There have been other white men of good will and real virtue who have worked in Harlem for years: now they are just over-tired and discouraged. Sometimes I think you have to be a Negro to have the long suffering patience and resiliency to resist the dragging tendency towards *despair* that is in the very atmosphere of Harlem. You

may think this an *exaggeration*, but I have seen its effects and have also seen some heroic victories over this ghetto environment.

An altar boy of my acquaintance is one of the brightest, most reliable characters I have met. He and his three sisters are poor and patched, but clean. Their mother, after a wild youth, has become a living saint. She is sensible and self-sacrificing. Her children and her home, supported by the Welfare Department, are a tribute to her hard work and good management.

Before I drift too far afield in personal recollections let me state here my conviction that racial prejudice is rooted in an illogical, subconscious, emotional taboo against treating Negroes as ordinary people and friendly equals. This is the heart of the question.

The cure for the attitude of so many whites toward their Negro brethren is not simply a matter of education and enlightening the ignorant on both sides. Neither is it economic justice and legal recognition of the Negroes' rights as an American citizen. *The whole solution* is solving the problem of neurotic human behavior.

SOCIAL PSYCHOSES

We are faced with a social psychosis rooted in emotional conflicts and subconscious tensions, both group and individual — white and black. This will not be cured by information, logic, or law. I do not pretend to know the answer but, perhaps, it helps to see the question in its proper context. Before finding or prescribing a cure—if there is a cure—we must diagnose the illness.

The best analysis of the American white man's neurosis is, in my opinion, Gunnar Myrdal's classic, *The American Dilemma*. Point by point, in the fields of housing, voting, occupations, education, etc., this book first presents a universally accepted value premise of the "American Creed"—for example "equality of opportunity for all." Then with objective dispassion the authors present scientific research data revealing the actual situation of the Negro in American society. Essentially the white neurosis is a simultaneous dedication to the ideal of fair and equal treatment for all American citizens coupled with a deep rooted phobia that drives the dominant white to subjugate the Negro.

I would like to present now a few personal, unscientific impressions on the Negro's psychological conflicts. The essential conflict in the Negro is obvious. It is the struggle of a sensitive people to adjust to the tragically real persecution of the dominant white culture. The Negro struggles with a natural want for recognition, security, friendship, and fair treatment. He resents the unreasoned, impenetrable assumption by white society that he is some sort of subhuman species meant to be either dominated as dangerous or patronized as childish. This situation is enough to rend the heart and soul of any man. Other conflicts are consequent and connected. First of all the Negro in projecting his ego to white society is over anxious to please and over fearful of rejection. Then there is the simultaneous tendency to surrender or to rebel—to protest or to conform—strike out and drive toward power and great-

ness or to give in to the debilitating sadness of despair.

Martin Luther King in his book, *Stride Toward Freedom,* refers to these conflicts. Speaking of the attitude of many of his people, prior to the successful strike against segregation on the buses in Montgomery, Alabama, Dr. King says: "An even more basic force at work was their corroding sense of inferiority which often expressed itself in the lack of self-respect. Many unconsciously wondered whether they actually deserved any better conditions. Their minds and souls were so conditioned to the system of segregation that they submissively adjusted themselves to things as they were. This is the ultimate tragedy of segregation. It not only harms one physically but injures one spiritually. It scars the soul and degrades the personality. It inflicts the segregated with a false sense of inferiority, while confirming the segregator in a false estimate of his own superiority."

As a priest I have observed souls enlightened by Christian faith who have been torn by the conflict between the doctrine of resignation—turning the other cheek—or giving way to the prodding of those who advocate violence and open rebellion against a society which they feel does not offer even minimum fair treatment.

To return to the psychological struggles of the Negro: there is, of course, the natural tendency to project all one's personal failings and inadequacies onto the scapegoat—white prejudice. There is also an intensified tendency toward escapism. Too many Negroes seek an outlet for their frustrations in drink or dope; they seek deliverance from other neurotic flights from unpleasant reality with oft disastrous consequences.

I have also observed that many successful Negroes become so absorbed in their own personal affairs that they seem to forget they *are* Negroes; they try to forget that segregation still exists. Some compensate by seeking an outlet in extreme black nationalism, or some form of glorification of the Negro's Messianic Mission.

If racial prejudice with its various forms of inhuman discrimination is trully neurotic human behavior, then great drama, and more than laws, sermons or politics may be the appropriate psychotherapy. Aristotle tells us that the effect of great drama is catharsis. Webster defines this $50 word as (1) "purgation, primarily of the bowels." In its literary and social sense, catharsis is defined as "the alleviation of the emotions, of fears and conflicts by bringing them into consciousness through artistic expression." A few weeks ago with a group of friends I saw the prize winning Negro folk drama, *A Raisin in the Sun.* I honestly believe that this play will bring more real understanding and generate more friendly sympathy for the Negro than one hundred learned articles or political speeches. "It's so typical" was the most common reaction expressed by my friends. After pity and tears and belly laughs and a real awe at human greatness and compassion which were evoked by the drama, we were left emotionally wrung. We had experienced a *catharsis.* In the final scene, especially, Claudia McNeill, as the bone-tired, long suffering mother reached the heights of dramatic

power. The play made me feel as I have sometimes felt after facing one of Harlem's real family tragedies in our parish: "Behold these Negroes—how they love one another. What long suffering merciful compassion—what a capacity to absorb frustration, disappointment and abuse and come up with resignation and forgiveness. They plod on still loving, with head bloodied, but unbowed." *A Raisin in the Sun,* by being primarily great creative theatre is also good cathartic for the body social. I hate to compare Miss Hansberry's classic play to a dose of salts, but to the other end of the analogy—the constipated condition of prejudiced society is quite appropriate to it.

PLANNING THE FUTURE

When Negroes plan for the future, they smack squarely into another dilemma. If the Negro tries to assimilate, to disperse as widely as possible throughout the white community and even "cross over" where possible, he loses his identity. The strength that comes from unity, solidarity, and self-respecting race acceptance vanishes. But when they solidify and unite, they inevitably—if only temporarily—widen the chasm, accentuate the difference and consequently increase the tension between the white and colored groups.

Here in our parish I have seen and felt the force of these psychological adjustments to the frustrations of being a Negro in Harlem. Many of our most influential parishioners have been the first to leave us for Westchester and Long Island. Sometimes they bury themselves in middle-class respectability in a predominantly white neighborhood where they are tolerated but seldom accepted.

I think this aspect of the Negro's dilemma calls for clear thinking on ultimate goals. What is the ideal solution to the important problem of intergroup relations? If the ultimate goal is complete assimilation and dispersion, which means eventual loss of identity, then we must be aware of this. If on the other hand, the Negro, as I hope and believe, wishes to retain his identity as an ethnic group, then the next step should undoubtedly be emphasis on solidarity, unity and internal self-improvement. And whatever may be the ultimate solution, it is my firm belief that right now Harlem needs an accelerated program of self-improvement. Here is one of the very few points where I would agree with our senior Congressman, Adam Clayton Powell. Recently, at the 50th Annual NAACP Convention, he criticized his host publicly and most undiplomatically, but his point, I thought, had merit. He insisted that the NAACP should devote more time and energy to the plight of the *northern urban Negro.*

Many residents of Harlem will take issue with the above statement, but the time has come when we must take our heads out of the sand and view conditions in the glare of reality. Harlem needs a thorough housecleaning and renovation! This is a challenge to the New York Negro. It is primarily our own responsibility.

Yet, with mass support and dedicated, non-political Negro leadership, a revolutionary renovation could be achieved in our community.

As previously stated, I believe there will always be a separate Negro

ethnic group and culture and that it will always have its home in predominantly Negro communities. If anyone says that this is advocating a separate-but-equal status for the Negro, he lies. I am an advocate of total acceptance and complete equality for Negroes as fellow members of the Mystical Body of Christ—in all fields without exception. But I recognize racial difference and, in spite of the fact that no people have advanced so far so fast, I do not deny their social and educational deficiencies, while I affirm their biological, psychological, and spiritual equality.

As a result of the experiences which have afforded me the above observations, my prescription for Harlem is—*Hard Work—Honesty—Health* and *Holiness*.

DEDICATED LEADERS NEEDED

As regards hard work, the first and most difficult job will be organization and planning. Dedicated Negro leaders who have remained in Harlem will be needed most. God bless our prominent Negroes who, though they have given up residence in the community are still active in the Negro betterment organizations such as the NAACP and the National Urban League. Yet the vital need is for leaders who live in Harlem and who will work selflessly for a happy, healthy, holy community.

One of the important projects, and one that could enlist mass cooperation and have the encouraging effect of immediate visible results would be —cleanup . . . washup . . . paint-up Harlem. Not in isolated blocks but throughout the area. Already, Borough President Hulan Jack has made some efforts in this direction. This program, however, should be broadened.

As regards honesty, I endorse the *Journal American*'s plan for citizens' vigilante committees, cooperating with the police, with some authority, to assure peace and order in our neighborhood. Personally, I favor legal lotteries, health clinics, and hospitalization for addicts and alcoholics. Stringent penalties and quick justice for the peddlars and bosses of vice should be imposed.

Recent threats of riots in Harlem, I believe, have been widly exaggerated by politicians and a sensationalist press. Yet I would be less than honest myself were I to deny the real possibility of rioting. One group I consider especially dangerous is the "Black Asiatic" quasi-Mohammedan crowd who follow Elijah the prophet and Malcolm X. This is the current and fast growing form of Black Facism. They are intensely anti-white, anti-Christian, and anti-American. About the only constructive and solid appeal in their whole program is their stress on solidarity—acceptance of race and mutual help. It would be a tragic shame if this wild element were to monopolize, in the mind of the people, this popular and necessary appeal for Negro Unity.

As far as Harlem's physical health is concerned, adequate staff and services in existing facilities, with emphasis on health education and personal hygiene, would be ten steps in the right direction, *providing this program is incorporated in the curriculum of our public and parochial schools*. However, it is Harlem's mental health that cries loudest for attention, and the basis of this threat

to our community's well-being stems from economic stagnation.

I believe that cooperatives present the ideal plan for Harlem. Starting with a merger of existing credit unions and widespread educational programs, it is possible to teach the people to plan, to organize, and to save together in mutual trust (the latter unfortunately is a rare commodity in Harlem). Progress could be made from "cooperative saving" to "cooperative lending" on a self-managed basis. Thus many could be saved from the loan sharks and installment profiteers. As the idea of the credit union builds up, cooperative housing would be feasible. This is one of the crying needs of Harlem. More city projects are not the final answer, even though they are absolutely necessary in the overcrowded area. A widespread Harlem cooperative could work wonders in consumer purchasing plans: its funds could be used to finance Negro business and industry.

And now we come to Holiness. Merciful compassion, which I consider to be the outstanding strength of the Negro, can have no real vitality or lasting reality unless it is based on and participates in the love of Jesus crucified. There can be no other foundation or true inspiration, no hope of salvation but through the life and sacrifice and triumphant resurrection of Jesus Christ, true God and true man.

ROLE OF THE CHURCH

The Catholic Church has ten of the largest and finest Churches in the Harlem Area. They are staffed by some of the finest priests and monsignors in th New York Archdiocese. Our schools are recognized as the finest, our convert classes are crowded. We have some of the most prominent and influential Negroes as our members. Yet I feel that we are operating far below capacity. Our impact and influence on the community is slight. We need many more Negro priests working in Harlem.

A central Harlem Catholic Information Center would be of tremendous help. At least, our neighbors could find out why we are as we are. While Catholics do not take active part or cooperate in Protestant worship, they could safely do much more to improve the community by cooperating with non-Catholic groups. Those of us who are priests need to know and trust our people more. We need to encourage them and stimulate their initiative while delegating them more responsibility in Church affairs at the same time. We could give them greater opportunity for organized social and adult education programs in Church halls. The entire Harlem Clergy—Protestant and Catholic—needs more intercommunication and unified planning in the use of our vast community resources. Catholics are inclined to be too isolated and parochial in facing these common problems and in presenting our common program. And whites who come to this community need to work *with* the people of Harlem—not to work *for* them.

While this prescription for Harlem is not presented as a cure, its adoption should help to ward off the slow death which is creeping upon the community.

I would like to see Harlem the home of the holiest churches, neatest housing, most efficient businesses and

the best restaurants, schools and hospitals in New York City. Harlem, as it used to, can have again the best of athletic clubs and entertainment if our own people cooperate and the best Negro leaders, who are non-political and non-racist, dedicate their efforts to that end. Realistic self and race acceptance, mutual charity and internal self-improvement through cooperation are the means to this ideal.

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS—*These "Angelenos" are taking out NAACP life memberships in the Los Angeles, California, branch of the Association. Payments are being made by (from L) Mrs. Maude Prayer, who is making her final payment; Miss Lillian, representing the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority; Mrs. Luther Bell and John Brown of the King and Queen Social Club; Roy Moore, foreign correspondent Prince Hall Grand Lodge, and Lorenzo Bowdoin, treasurer; Atty. James R. Akers, Jr., president of local branch; and Atty. Herbert Greenwood, worshipful grand master of Prince Hall Masons of California.*

Clifton Cabell

MRS. FLORENCE MADISON HILL, *national president of Iota Phi Lambda Sorority, receives an NAACP life membership plaque for her sorority from Mildred Bond (R), NAACP life membership campaign representative, during the sorority's thirtieth anniversary convention and education meeting held in Washington, D. C., August 16, 1959.*

■ How Atlanta came to desegregate her public libraries

A Case of Quiet Social Change

By Howard Zinn

THE librarian, youngish and slim, spoke calmly, but her hand trembled a bit as she handed a new library membership card to Dr. Irene Dobbs Jackson, handsome, middle-aged, a professor of French at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia. Mrs. Jackson took the card and turned to her companion, a young white woman who might have stepped off the campus of any fashionable school for southern belles. The two women walked through the electrically-operated door of the library and when they were outside turned to smile at one another. It was May 22, 1959, and an important day, for Mrs. Jackson was the first Negro ever given a membership card at the marbled and smartly appointed Carnegie Library in the heart of downtown Atlanta.

About five minutes later, on the second floor of the library, a short, bespectacled, dark-skinned young man, violinist and music teacher at Spelman College, thumbed through the stacks of records on the table marked "Concertos," found several he wanted, and took them to the check-out desk. Exactly three weeks before, while looking at records in the same room, he had been asked courteously but firmly to leave. Now, as he approached the desk, the attractive girl sitting there smiled, noted his selections, and he walked out of the building.

The desegregation of the public library system in the city of Atlanta took place quietly in May of 1959, at a time when the entire state was tense and expectant over the opening of the long-awaited school desegregation case in Atlanta's federal court. Only gradually did the white community realize that the library system was now integrated, and Atlanta

HOWARD ZINN teaches at Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Negroes, as word spread slowly among them, greeted the news with amazement and gratification. There had been no lawsuit, no headlines, no violence. The event was as startling, in miniature, as the almost casual British withdrawal from India after three hundred years of rule. It is explainable only by a number of intertwining threads which knotted together on May 22, 1959, and which, when unravelled, afford a fascinating glimpse into the sub-surface mechanics of peaceful, purposeful social change.

ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIAL CHANGE

The word "purposeful" is crucial. If there is any *leitmotiv* to modern times, it is that of social change—continuous, incredibly swift, often violent transformation of the rooted order. Intellectuals studying these changes have revealed three distinct attitudes. There persists, among both religious and secular thinkers, the notion that some inscrutable force, whether God or economic necessity, is at work. More recently, we have the empiricist attempt to attack the problem piecemeal by scientific scrutiny of individual phenomenon rather than by insight into some universal explanation. Both of these approaches imply a passivity on the part of the intellectual, whose eye is at either the telescope or the microscope but whose hands are rather idle. Both of them share a humility in the face of a powerful determinant or a bewildering complex of factors.

Most recently, there has emerged the idea that man is not a feeble creature pecking with a tack-hammer at an impenetrable steel maze, but a free and mighty agent who can, while studying the determinants of social change, become a chief determinant himself. The potency of this idea is such that it has affected both other schools; the church has never fostered so many activisits for social reform, and Marxism has shifted its own emphasis from "inevitability" and the strength of "material forces" to the power of the Communist Party. The atom-splitting of scientists has invested both communinists and clerics with a new sense of command.

Thus, the notion is growing that man can coolly and deliberately locate a particular problem, survey the forces standing in the way of a solution, and either skillfully navigate around obstacles or, when the balance of power is just right, bowl them over. It was this kind of thinking, on a tiny scale, which, when translated into action, led to the peaceful desegregation of the Atlanta public library system, opening to 150,000 Negroes of that city a wealth of books, paintings, and recorded music.

In the fall of 1956, a small group of students and teachers in the Social Science Club at Spelman College in Atlanta decided to undertake an experiment in deliberate, organized social change. It was embarrassing, they felt, to live in a region of the country which was being shaken by ideological and political upheaval, and yet confine their studies to books. Why not, out of the welter of spinning events in the integration crisis, select a tilt-yard where the enemy was weak and the possibility of gaining allies strong, and set out deliberately to occupy that tiny bit

of territory? Why not plan and carry through to victory a minor skirmish in the big battle, through purposeful and rational planning? The tactics would be those of guerrilla warfare, an unusual undertaking for a respected Negro college for young women, long noted for its decorum and conservatism.

ATLANTA LIBRARY SYSTEM

The library system, consisting of separate libraries for Negroes and for whites, was singled out for attention after a good deal of thought. It was a situation small enough to be handled by guerrilla action, yet significant in its importance for the entire community. Also, the relationship of forces seemd favorable. For one thing, it involved the city of Atlanta, whose administration has grown more and more flexible as the state government of Georgia, housed in the same city, has become more intransigent. Also, there was a history of recent desegregation pressure, for the interracial American Veterans Committee had just attempted to get the mayor to act, without success. Another helpful factor was that the policy of separate libraries was not written into law, but was simply an administrative rule of the library's Board of Trustees, and could be changed by action of the Board.

Finally, action to desegregate the Atlanta Library system would not be a capricious attempt to break through on one more segregation front for the sake of piling up victories; it represented a genuine need on the part of Negro students and faculty in the Atlanta University Center, and also members of the city's Negro community. The three libraries built especially for Negroes were inadequate, although one was a newly-erected showplace, part of the post-war rash of attempts to introduce more equality into the separate-but-equal scheme in the South. No Negro library could come close to matching the Carnegie Library. Built in downtown Atlanta some thirty years ago, it housed a fine collection of books in all categories, as well as a marvelous assortment of great paintings and classical music records which were available upon loan. White faculty members at Spelman College, Morehouse College, and Atlanta University had sometimes borrowed books, records, and paintings for colleagues and students, but such favors grated on their sensibilities. The "for whites only" label on the world's great literature was not only a moral challenge, but a practical obstacle to learning. It seemed logical that Negro students, who could get books celebrating American freedom only through the indirect system of inter-library loans, should become aroused.

FIRST STEP

It was decided as a first step that students and Negro faculty, heretofore hesitant, should begin visiting the Carnegie Library whenever they needed books unavailable elsewhere. So, the advance guard of a gradually increasing stream of Negro visitors began passing through the electric-eye entrance to the Carnegie Library. It was accidental irony that the first book sought in this campaign was John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. The Spelman student requesting this was given the same treatment that subsequent

Negro visitors were to receive: a courteous query as to whether the Negro branch had been tried, and then assurance that the book would be sent to the Negro branch where the person could withdraw it. If the book was needed immediately, however, it could be studied right there in the library, in a special room downstairs, or in the office behind the main desk—anywhere, so long as there would be no contact with the white patrons. It was hard to suppress a smile at this, for just across the street from the library, in one of Atlanta's leading department stores, Negroes and whites could rub shoulders at the counters, try on the same hats and dresses, and, thanks to the irresistable impetus of the profit motive, be treated as near-equals. But nonsense has been uttered with aplomb for a long time in the South, and no one proved better at it than degree-encrusted library officials. The Negro visitors accepted whatever service was offered them, and left. Their purpose was simply to make the Carnegie library aware that Negroes were in need of its facilities.

The Atlanta Council on Human Relations, meanwhile, unaware that this program of gentle pressure was under way, had decided to do something about library segregation. This newly-formed interracial group was headed by Unitarian minister Edward Cahill, white, and Dean Whitney Young of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, Negro. They began a sixteen-month campaign of persistent effort to convince the Library Board of Trustees, through detailed research and rational argument, that Atlanta libraries should be open to all. They collected statistics, made special maps, and referred the Library Director pointedly to the American Library Association's Bill of Rights, which says that "as a responsibility of Library service there should be no discrimination based on race or nationality." The Board remained unmoved, and the Council on Human Relations wearily announced this fact in February of 1959, saying: "The Council urges all groups and individuals in the city to take such action as they deem appropriate to persuade the Library Board to desegregate the tax-supported facilities of the public library system."

ONLY ONE NEXT MOVE

With this, the Social Science Club at Spelman College, supported by Morehouse College students, decided there was only one possible next move—a lawsuit. In January, federal courts in Atlanta had given two favorable desegregation decisions, opening up the city's transit system, and barring discrimination by race in the admissions policy of the University of Georgia. Several years before, a lawsuit had forced open to Negroes the municipal golf courses in Atlanta. And in one Virginia county the mere threat of a lawsuit had opened up libraries to Negroes.

But to get willing plaintiffs was not easy. A number of students were anxious to file suit, but they would require parental consent, and pose other technical complications. Many Negroes were subject to economic reprisal if they dared participate in court action. Finally, two people came forward. One was a young minister who was doing advanced

study in theology at Morehouse and had often suffered from the inadequacy of the library facilities available to him. Another was Irene Dobbs Jackson, professor of French at Spelman, who had recently been awarded her doctorate at the University of Toulouse.

Mrs. Jackson was an ideal plaintiff. Her father, John Wesley Dobbs, is one of Atlanta's most distinguished Negro citizens, a militant battler for equal rights, and a rare remaining member of the old-style Southern school of oratory. Her sister, Mattiwilda Dobbs, became famous as the first Negro to sing a starring role with the Metropolitan Opera Company. ("My Mattiwilda was asked to sing here in Atlanta," John Wesley Dobbs thundered last year from the platform of the Wheat Street Baptist Church to an audience of several thousand, "but she said 'No sir,' not while my daddy has got to sit in the second balcony!") Irene Jackson herself has a quiet, rock-like strength which was put to its most severe test when her husband, a prominent Atlanta minister, died several years ago, leaving her with six growing children. She continued their educations and took four of them to France where she worked towards her doctorate. "Why, I've passed by the Carnegie Library a hundred times," she said, "and always wanted to go in. I think it's time."

VICTORY FORECAST

The plaintiffs, aided by Atlanta University's Whitney Young and the Spelman College Social Science Club, began discussions with attorneys for the initiation of a suit. A clean-cut case and a quick victory was forecast. No attempt was made either to inform the city authorities about the impending suit, or to keep the news secret. And meanwhile, the parade of visitors to the Carnegie Library was stepped up. City officials were apparently becoming uneasy, because a high municipal officeholder phoned an Atlanta University faculty member in the early spring to plead that legal action be held up until the state legislature (which has been in constant battle with the city administration) adjourned.

On May 19, a representative of Spelman's Social Science Club sat in Whitney Young's office at the School of Social Work to discuss preparations for filing suit against the city, when the phone rang. It was a member of the Board of Trustees of the library system. The Board had just finished a special, closed luncheon meeting at the Atlanta Athletic Club, he said, to discuss the impending suit against the library system. The Mayor was present, as was the Chief of Police, the city attorney, and the director of Atlanta's public library system. A vote had been taken, and now the Atlanta libraries were integrated. The Library Director wanted a few days to inform his staff, and then Negroes could come to the Carnegie Library and other branches hitherto considered "white."

Three days later, Dr. Irene Jackson joined the Carnegie Library and Mr. Earl Sanders took out his long-sought violin concertos. Later that week, two Spelman students and one Morehouse student walked into a "white" branch library on Peachtree Street and gave it its initiation.

As predicted by all groups who had asked integration, the desegre-

gation decision caused no great commotion. Not until five days after the Board action did the newspapers carry the story, and by then it was an accomplished fact. The library director received a few angry letters. Dr. Jackson was kept awake one night by threatening phone calls, and as she sat at a library table reading, that first day, a man came by and slammed his books down hard on the table in voiceless protest. But the general reaction was an enormous silence. One white Atlantan wrote a letter to the *Constitution* saying that he had lived in Atlanta all his life and never knew the libraries were segregated, and he felt ashamed.

MANIPULATED ACTIONS

This was non-violent social change, not studied after the fact, but before, not the chance outcome of infinite undirected forces, but the result, to a great extent, of a deliberate, manipulated series of actions. Of course, there were many imponderables. No one could determine whether success would come before a lawsuit or after. Unforeseen allies appeared, like the friendly member of the Board of Trustees who exerted an inordinate amount of pressure on his colleagues. Deviations from the predicted course would always take place, it was understood, in a dynamic social situation, no matter how powerful the controls. But by rational selection of the proper locale of action, and by carefully thought-out maneuvers, perhaps a magnetic field could be created where the attraction of favorable factors (though not the specific type or number or source) could be anticipated with a high degree of certainty.

At dignified old Spelman College the campus is still green, shaded, and quiet. The students have gone back to their books, and the Social Science Club is preparing its program for next year. But there is a difference, however slight, in the atmosphere. The twentieth century may, eons from now, be viewed as the time when purposeful, peaceful social change came into its own. And Spelman at this moment feels a part of the century.

UPI Telephono

Negro children arriving for classes at the previously all-white Orchard Villa elementary school in Miami, Florida, on Sept. 8.

■ Report on UN study of the most effective techniques to be used in fighting discrimination

Discrimination Practices and Economic Development in Relations to UN Programs*

By Herbert Hill

ONE June 22, under the auspices of the United Nations, the representatives of 112 Non-Governmental Organizations with UN consultative status, met at the Palais des Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, to convene the Second United Nations Conference concerned with the Eradication of Racial and Religious Discrimination. This five-day Conference, with important participation from the new and emerging nations of Africa and Asia, was convened not merely to restate abstract moral principles, but to study specific techniques and programs, and to make recommendations to the United Nations and its specialized agencies, that will contribute to the elimination of discriminatory practices and assist in fostering a social development that will permit the fullest realization of the individual human potential.

The preliminary statement issued by the Conference noted: "That fun-

* HERBERT HILL, labor secretary of the NAACP, was a special consultant at the Second United Nations Conference Concerned with the Eradication of Racial and Religious Discrimination held in Geneva, Switzerland, June 22-26, 1959. This article is based on a paper prepared by Mr. Hill for the Conference.

damental deprivations of human rights in a variety of forms continue to plague mankind. Recent events clearly indicate that it is possible through a determined application of principles and the vigorous use of action techniques to eradicate discriminatory practices which act as a fetter upon national development, retard economic growth, prohibit full manpower utilization and do vast harm to millions of human beings."

The working sessions examined the application of the rule-of-law, the effect of specific social action techniques, and the efficacy of community-education programs. These were made the basis for a series of recommendations to be implemented by non-governmental organizations in cooperation with the United Nations and its specialized agencies. These include, for example the International Labor Office and UNESCO, both of which are active in the field of anti-discrimination activities.

Internationally recognized authorities in jurisprudence, education, political science, and related fields participated actively through the presentation of papers and by acting as consultants in their areas. Among these experts were Dr. Brock Chisholm, president of the World Federation for Mental Health, who served as chairman of the Conference; Hilding Eck, professor of law at the University of Stockholm; Dr. John Karefa-Smart, minister of labor and mines of Sierra Leone; Dr. R. R. Manley, University of Jamaica, British West Indies; Mrs. Shushila Nayar of India, who, for many years, was closely associated with Gandhi; Dr. Anthony H. Richmond, sociologist from the University of Edinburgh; Dr. Gerhard Riegner, of the World Jewish Congress; Quintin Whyte, director of the Institute of Race Relations of South Africa, and many others.

GROUPS DIVERSE

Important international organizations representing centers of opinion and influence actively participated in the Conference. Among these were such diverse groups as the International Law Association, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the All India Women's Conference, the World Veterans Federation, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, Pax Romana, etc.

The intensive discussions regarding the use of the law as an instrument for social change were most significant, especially in relationship to recent developments in the United States. Reports were made on the effective use of legal controls and it was generally accepted that it is both proper and desirable for governments to intervene and to use the power of the State to eliminate discriminatory practices. Nor should such interventions be limited to broad statements of public policy, but they must be vigorously enforced within the contexts of each nation's judicial traditions and customs.

Discriminatory practices and economic development in the underdeveloped countries, in relation to UN programs, was likewise the concern of groups and individuals working with the social problems of backward areas of the world.

The discussion revealed that for many people the United Nations and

its specialized agencies have today become the symbol, the reality even, of an emerging new pattern in international relations. The very existence of these organizations implies a basic system of values regarding the rights of individuals in relation to their governments and the relationship of these governments to each other. It is therefore inevitable that the United Nations should be greatly concerned with the eradication of racial and religious discrimination and that the specialized agencies recognize, as they have to a limited degree, certain defined responsibilities in this field.

In a conference devoted to the study of techniques for eradicating discriminatory practices, special attention was given to the important role of the United Nations itself, as well as to its specialized agencies, in the world-wide struggle to eliminate those deleterious social practices which still plague mankind. In many different ways it was revealed that in this century of enormous scientific and technical advances, questions of race and religion are, more than any others, the root cause of genocide, butcheries, insensate exploitation, and the spiritual maiming of millions of people.

It was precisely because the United Nations has already made an historic contribution to the economic and social development of societies undergoing technological modernization, that it was important for the Conference to give attention to the social consequences of UN programs in the field of economic development.

Studies prepared for the UN Conference clearly indicated that economic development does not in itself produce, in every case, the same desired social or political results; that it is not possible to predict with assurance what the social outcome will be in a given country when industrial development begins. Discussions also showed that each country brings a different set of traditions to its program of economic modernization. This means that certain characteristics, though they may facilitate economic growth, will at the same time hamper, or even endanger, the development of a democratic society in the Western sense. That is, a society operating upon the basic assumptions of individual rights and equal justic before the law.

MODERN TECHNIQUES

The belief that the introduction of modern techniques of production alone will foster egalitarian social institutions is simply not true. In many older industrialized nations there has been a long evolution of economic, political, and social institutions which in a very real sense prepared the way for the industrial revolution. Today it is possible by very rapid technological development to graft contemporary production methods upon outdated and reactionary social institutions and values. In some cases the outcome is often productive of efficiency, but one adjusted to undesirable political and social goals. These goals oppress rather than free the people. The historical record clearly indicates that the environment, as well as the cultural traditions in which the economic development operates, decisively influences the social result.

It is important therefore that United Nations programs devoted to

Eric F. Schwab

DR. JOHN KEREFA-SMART, *minister of labor and mines in Sierra Leone, West Africa, and Herbert Hill (R), NAACP labor secretary, confer at the Second United Nations Conference concerned with the eradication of racial and religious discrimination.*

economic growth and social improvement in the various countries be directly concerned with the elimination of injustices based upon prejudice and discrimination. Likewise the techniques introduced should make possible the fullest utilization of the country's manpower resources. The effort devoted to the practical human relations aspect of technical assistance and other programs should be intensified and the subject matter expanded. Groups such as the World Veterans Federation, speaking of its Asian and African affiliates, stated the belief that this is desirable not

merely because of its concern with eradicating prejudice and discrimination, but also because it believes that successful economic development depends in the final analysis as much on improved social technology as on improved mechanical technology.

From the discussion it became clear that democratic ideals in social relations are not developed quickly. They represent a body of belief that was as difficult to come by in human experience as the know-how of steam engines and electronics, and that wherever possible, and feasible, United Nations agencies should introduce certain basic concepts and practices which will militate against prejudice and discrimination.

The needs of many countries in different areas of the world for better techniques are as great in the social as in the mechanical field. This is a fact which has overwhelmingly forced itself on the attention of those concerned with international industrial development programs. This is equally true for industrialized nations as well as for those now undergoing technological development.

Historically the record indicates that social problems are among the most important obstacles to economic development in most countries. Therefore, UN specialized agencies must be concerned not merely with providing investment capital and the know-how of technology, but equally concerned with the intangible capital represented by the building of democratic social institutions.

Many inernational non-governmental organizations, accredited with consultative status to UN, urged that the programs of United Nations specialized agencies place more emphasis on the social aspects of technology, with special attention to discriminatory practices.

NO DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING

It was proposed that the United Nations provide technical assistance in eradicating discriminatory practices. Such assistance is to be given when requested by member nations and under regular procedures: non-governmental organizations can perform an extremely important function by initiating the request to the UN under government auspices. The bringing together of a significant body of professional experts, and making their services available for activity in specific projects confronted with discriminatory practices, can be extremely valuable and far-reaching in its consequences. The providing of such services under UN auspices is in keeping with the established practices of certain UN agencies which now provide highly specialized technical services on a host of questions.

It was further proposed that the United Nations and its specialized agencies make it a basic policy that there shall be no discrimination in the hiring of personnel (or any utilization of manpower) for their many and varied projects. Implementation of this non-discriminatory policy by UN itself would have a very wholesome as well as persuasive effect upon the non-discriminatory hiring policies of other governments and international agencies. Full manpower utilization without regard to race, creed, color or national origin is a goal of UN and a step toward fulfilment of the truths set forth in the Declaration of Human Rights.

Of particular interest to those coming from underdeveloped areas was the proposal for the regional economic commissions of the United Nations to make a study of the economic effects of discriminatory practices based on race, religion, color and national origin. It would be of great value to determine the specific consequences of discriminatory practices upon economic development as they relate to the following questions, among others: lack of full manpower utilization as a result of discriminatory practices in apprenticeship and other training programs; discriminatory practices in employment which deny certain groups of workers the opportunity to be employed or to be employed at their highest skills; limitations and quota systems such as the *numerus clausus* for admission into institutions of higher learning for professional and technical disciplines which deny individuals the opportunity to realize their fullest potential and thereby deny the whole society urgently needed services.

The clear assumption of many groups, especially those from Africa, was that discriminatory practices act as a fetter upon industrial and social development and that prejudice and discrimination create community instability which retard the entire process of technological innovation.

This Conference was a significant step towards mobilizing a great cross-section of world public opinion, as represented by the participating non-governmental organizations and UN itself, in the fight to eradicate prejudice and discrimination throughout the world.

MEMBERS *of the Indianapolis, Indiana, board of education and representatives of the local NAACP youth council who planned the Youth Career Conference held in Indianapolis May 13-15. Herbert Wright, NAACP youth secretary, is seated at far right.*

Richard's photo

Looking and Listening . . .

NEGRO SOCIETY NEWS

A CATHOLIC weekly in Indianapolis, Indiana, has complained that the society pages of daily newspapers slight the cultured Negro community.

"As far as the daily papers are concerned these fine people do not exist," stated the *Indiana Catholic Record* in an editorial that accompained a survey of coverage of local Negro social affairs.

"The trouble is that the White community knows nothing about the many cultured Negroes," the paper declared.

"It seems to us that the newspapers could help the cultured Negro tremendously by subtly and indirectly educating the White community. An occasional picture of a bride of some prominent Negro family on the front page of the Sunday society section along with the others. Once in a while a picture of a Negro social event along with some of the country club set.

"Nothing big, mind you. Nothing spectacular. No concerted campaign. But little by little the idea would get across to the reader that there are Negroes in the community just like everybody else."

Fred W. Fries, managing editor of the Catholic diocesan weekly, interviewed editors of Indianapolis' three dailies: Walter Lackrone, Indianapolis *Times;* Eugene Pulliam, Jr., Indianapolis *News;* and Robert Early, Indianapolis *Star*.

The three editors believed their papers were doing an adequate job of reporting Negro news.

The *Catholic Record* quoted Mr. Leckrone as noting that "there are perhaps 400,000 white people in the Indianapolis area who will never get into the society columns. If the Negro community held a cotillion for debutantes, I am sure we would cover the affair pictorially. The newsworthiness of an event must be judged by the number of people who are interested in it."

Mr. Pulliam said he did not believe "that running a lot of Negro society pictures will make them any more or less acceptable in the community."

He stated that the *News* has "run Negro social items—both stories and pictures—in the past and will continue to do so in so far as we consider such items of interest to our general readership."

Mr. Early was asked if "running pictures of Negro private social events and Negro brides in the Indianapolis Star would make for improved race relations?"

"I definitely do not," replied Mr. Early. "We have covered special social events involving prominent Negroes in the community in the past and we will continue to do so.

"We do not make it a practice of printing pictures of Negro brides and

of private social affairs in the Negro community, because I feel that such a practice would create resentment among our White readers and impair race relations rather than improve them."

He said this was "over and above the argument that such pictures would be of interest to only a very small segment of our readers."

SOUTHERN JIM CROW

A RECENT report of the Southern Regional Council on racial practices in twenty-one leading Southern cities reveals that "facilities in air line terminals are desegregated or rapidly are being desegregated; that facilities in train stations are still largely segregated but are slowly becoming desegregated; and that facilities in bus terminals are almost completely segregated."

The report covers leading cities in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Racial discrimination in public transportation has existed in the South for more than 75 years, and it was not until November 25, 1955, that any substantial breakdown of train and bus waiting room segregation began. On that date, the Interstate Commerce Commission, which regulates train and bus travel across state lines, ruled that segregation of interstate passengers on trains and buses and in waiting rooms of stations is unlawful. The decision declared, in part:

"The disadvantages to a traveler who is assigned accommodations or facilities so designed as to imply his inherent inferiority solely because of his race must be regarded under present conditions as unreasonable. He is entitled to be free of annoyances which almost inevitably accompany segregation, even though the rail carriers sincerely try to provide both races with equally convenient and comfortable cars and waiting rooms."

Air traffic is regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Act, which prohibits "undue and unreasonable preference" and "unjust discrimination or undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage."

The survey reveals that practices differ widely from city to city and even in cities within the same state. There are, moreover, the Council reports, inconsistencies in waiting room practices of a single type of carrier in a particular city. These differences and inconsistencies vividly point up the fact that waiting room practices are in the process of change.

"Furthermore," the Council reports, "there is real uncertainty as to just what the situation is in some cities. Indeed, there are cities and terminals which appear to have deliberately left their policies confused and ambiguous."

The Council concludes:

"The surface of the 'cake of custom' is slowly cracking. A Chattanooga observer remarked, 'It would seem that Negroes, aware of conditions, do what they can to break tradition, but many follow custom. A similar awareness by white persons of the part they must play is necessary before real progress can be made toward the removal of legal

and social barriers in interstate travel.

ALGERIAN PEOPLE

SIXTEEN congressmen, in a joint statement issued in Washington in August, expressed their concern over the situation in Algeria and recognized the right of the Algerian people to independence. The sixteen Democratic signatories are Hugh Addonizio (N.J.), Victor Anfuso (N. Y.), Edward Boland (Mass.), Richard Bolling (Mo.), Charles Boyle (Ill.), Frank Clark (Penn.), Byron Johnson (Colo.), George Kasem (Cal.), William Meyer (Vt.), Robert Nix (Penn.), Charles Porter (Ore.), Adam Powell (N.Y.), Henry Reuss (Wis.), James Roosevelt (Cal.), Frank Thompson (N.J.), and Leonard Wolf (Ia.).

Here is the full text of their jointment statement:

We, the undersigned members of the U. S. Congress, are deeply concerned that the war in Algeria will soon enter its sixth year.

We recall the two resolutions passed by the United Nations General Assembly in successive 1957 sessions that a peaceful, democratic, and just solution should be found to end the conflict in conformity with the U. N. Charter.

We recognize the right of the Algerian people—as of all peoples—to self-determination and independence.

To achieve this right, thousands of Algerians are dying monthly and thousands more are refugees in other parts of North Africa and elsewhere.

The present situation in Algeria continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security.

Therefore we suggest that our United States Government take leadership in bringing the Algerian conflict to a just termination, not only for reasons of peace and humanitarianism, but to lay foundations for good relations between a free Algeria and the American people and their government in the years ahead.

We recommend that our country urge our ally, France, to enter into negotiations for the cessation of the conflict.

We urge that our country in the forthcoming 14th session of the U. N. General Assembly no longer abstain from voting, as it did in the 13th General Assembly, on any responsible resolution that urges continuing negotiations to reach a solution to the conflict.

We commend our country for making available certain surplus foodstuffs to the Algerian refugees, and certain scholarships to Algerian students, and we urge our government and its private agencies and citizens to continue to help these refugees.

Thus we cannot remain silent about this tragic war in Algeria and we publicly urge a negotiated peace now between the two parties concerned.

CHILDREN'S QUESTIONS

CARL T. ROWAN, noted Negro journalist, says that answering his own children's questions about racial prejudice has brought home the fact that this is a problem now faced by all mothers and fathers.

In the August 22 issue of *The Saturday Evening Post*, Rowan comments that the burden of explanation is heavy on every American parent who wants his children to grow up with even a slim chance to live at peace in our turbulent, changing world.

"Our country—in fact, our world—is more conscious of race nowa-

days than perhaps ever before in history," he continues. "Our newspapers are sprinkled with stories of racial conflict in Little Rock, Virginia, London, South Africa and Nyasaland.

"Our mass circulation magazines carry ten times as many articles on racial matters as they did thirty years ago. Television is bringing the visual drama and impact of racial troubles into our living rooms, where millions of youngsters are caught up in the confusion and frustrations long before they are able to understand the issues at stake.

"It seems obvious that unless parents help their children to understand the basic issues, millions of Americans will grow up believing that racial conflict is inevitable—and masses of Americans, white and Negro, will approach maturity with a warped sense of what America and democracy is all about, or with a defeatist notion of what a civilized, educated and religious society can do."

The author, a Minneapolis newspaperman, says it would be preferable to have his children gain a gradual understanding of the role race plays in society, but it has become essential to give them an early, fundamental understanding of what a Negro is and what it means to be one in the United States today.

Rowan's article, "We Tell Our Children . . ." concludes with the observation that by proving the possibility, indeed, the desirability, of an interracial society based on respect for individual worth, we Americans can make a monumental contribution to the attainment of that most elusive goal of mankind—a world of peace and good will.

"AFRICA SOUTH"

THE South African government has banned Ronald M. Segal, editor of *Africa South*, from attending any gatherings for the next five years. *Africa South* is a quarterly journal published in South Africa whose contributors include the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg and other church leaders, opposition members of the government, and occasionally dissenting members of the ruling Nationalist Party itself. The magazine has consistently opposed the government's *apartheid* program of total racial segregation.

The ban is seen by many prominent South Africans as a flagrant attempt to intimidate the press, and another step towards absolute rule by the white Nationalists through complete suppression of criticism of government policy. Although Mr. Segal is on public record as an opponent of communism and has never been a member of any political organization, the order for the ban was made on July 17 under the "Suppression of Communism Act." "Communism" is broadly defined by the Act to include advocating "any political, industrial, social or economic change . . . by the promotion of disturbance or disorder. . . ."

Mr. Segal, whose passport was seized by the government in June of this year, visited the United States in 1958 on a speaking tour sponsored by the American Committee on Africa. Since the ban occurred, he has received a series of threatening

telephone calls, and his car was burned. Although Mr. Segal is prevented by the ban from attending board meetings or news conferences, he has stated that he will attempt to continue editing *Africa South* without any change in its policies.

The ban on Mr. Segal is viewed with alarm in many circles as a further threat of doom not only to freedom of the press in South Africa, but to the remaining democratic institutions of a country which has already limited all governing powers to whites only, and by increasingly repressive laws is forcing most of the 80 per cent African population into remote areas constituting only 12 per cent of the land. Other critics of these laws, like the well-known Christian leader Chief Albert Luthuli, have previously been banned this year, and thirty Africans, Indians, and Europeans are still on trial for "treason" because of their opposition to *apartheid* laws.

MISCELLANY

AN excerpt from Dr. Martin Luther King's speech on non-violence at the 50th annual convention of the NAACP:

First, it must be clearly stated that the method of non-violence does not mean doing nothing; it does resist. If non-violence meant passive do-nothingism and complacent adjustment to evil, I would be the first to condemn it. No righteous man can fail to resist evil. Non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. It is at this point that non-violence comes in as a powerful method. It makes it possible for individuals to stand up against evil and yet not resist it with physical weapons or inner feelings of bitterness. Certainly, no one fully understanding this approach would call it a method of weakness. . . . Would you call the powerfully organized protest of the 50,000 Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, weak simply because they walked and sacrificed 381 days without retaliating with a single act of violence? Of course not. These were dramatic acts of strength. It is the strong man who can resist evil without violence.

Yes, non-violence calls for love, but it is not a weak and sentimental love; it is a strong love that organizes itself into positive social action.

It is my prayerful hope that our natural resentment over the injustices that are constantly heaped upon us will not cause us to stoop to the low and primitive methods of some of our opponents. . . .

SCHOLARSHIP GRANTEES—*Ten of the students of greater Boston area who have received educational scholarships from Boston, Massachusetts, branch.*

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Editorials

CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT

WHEREAS the NAACP welcomes the extension of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, this continuation is no substitute for meaningful legislation. In fact, the Commission's report is the best argument for civil-rights legislation. Let us look, for a moment, at the voting picture in some of the Southern states. Mississippi has a Negro population of 900,000, or about forty-five per cent of the total population. The Negro voting-age population in 1950 was 497,354, or about forty-one per cent of the total voting-age population. Yet, in 1954, the number of registered Negroes comprised only 3.89 per cent of the total 1950 population of voting-age Negroes. Although Mississippi is the worst Southern state when it comes to barring Negroes from the polls, the picture is similar for the others. Negroes in Arkansas comprise only 11.4 per cent of all registered voters; in Florida, 9.1 per cent in Georgia, 12.5 per cent; in Louisiana, 13.8 per cent; in North Carolina, 10.2 per cent; in South Carolina, 10.8 per cent; and in Alabama, 8.1 per cent.

THE South keeps Negroes from voting in large numbers because an intelligent Negro electorate would correct the abuses, educational, political and economic, from which Negroes now suffer. If Negroes voted in large numbers they would sweep the present crop of white supremacists out of office and take an important step toward erasing racial inequalities. Can one imagine a school board, or elected officials, fighting public-school integration in a city or state where there are thousands of Negro voters?

Here is what denial of the franchise to Negroes does. It means that a very small percentage of the population in the South, as contrasted with the North and the West, elects public officials. It also deprives the South of decent government.

Who is to blame for the failure of the 86th Congress to pass meaningful civil-rights legislation? Both parties. The Republicans and the Democrats alike contributed their share of shirks and shifts. But in a Democratically-controlled Congress the onus for failure is chiefly on the Democrats.

The NAACP is going to keep its eyes on the friends of meaningful civil-rights legislation. They must be held to their promises and the voters must persuade their congressmen and senators to take up civil-rights legislation in the second congressional session on the fifteenth of next February.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

OUR enemies frequently charge that the NAACP is indifferent to "Negro crime" and juvenile delinquency. Actually, we are just as much distressed by juvenile delinquency and the rising crime rate as any other socially-

minded group. We emphatically deny, however, that there is any such thing as "Negro crime." There are Negroes who break the law. There are whites who break the law. Both have committed crimes, but the Negroes are singled out and tagged as "Negro criminals" and their crimes are called "Negro crimes."

A policy statement adopted by the NAACP Board of Directors at its regular monthly meeting on September 14 "unequivocally condemns criminal acts and other violations of law and order committed by anti-social individuals." Moreover, the Board "recognizes that the motivation for some misdeeds is rooted in a background of social disabilities and economic inequities which foment damaging psychological frustrations."

"Mass hysteria will not do the job," the Board added. "Neither will disregard of citizen's constitutional rights . . ."

GEORGE PADMORE

THE death of George Padmore, advisor on African affairs to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, on September 23 brought shock and grief to his many American and African friends. As a frequent contributor to *The Crisis* he was known to thousands of Americans who had never met him.

Mr. Padmore was an indefatigable champion of African freedom and devoted most of his life to this cause. Even during his undergraduate days in American universities he came to realize that the future of Africa lay with the Africans. It was folly he argued to leave their destiny in the hands of various European colonial offices. Mr. Padmore helped to set the tone of the attack on colonialism by his scholarly studies and in 1945 by his resuscitation of the Pan-African Congress which met in Manchester, England. Among his books were *Africa: Britain's Third Empire*, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, and *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*

MR. PADMORE, christened Malcolm Nurse, was born in 1903 in Trinidad, B.W.I. He was educated at St. Mary's College, Trinidad, and at Fisk and Howard universities. Although he had studied law at Howard, he soon abandoned if for journalism. He attended the anti-imperialist conference held in Berlin in 1930 and from there he went to Moscow where he became a lecturer on racial and colonial problems at Kutvu University. He was chairman of the Negro Bureau of the Profintern and a member of the presidium of the Colonial Bureau of the Communist International. He later edited *The Negro Worker* in Hamburg, Germany, where he was arrested and imprisoned for six months for criticising Hitler's racialist policies against Negroes and Jews.

After Mr. Padmore broke with communism, he settled in London, England, where he became the "ideological father" of Negro-African nationalist movements. Black Africa has lost a great leader, a great humanitarian; and the struggling masses of the world have lost a champion and a friend.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

SPINGARN MEDAL AWARD

JAZZ clarinetist Benny Goodman, the "King of Swing," presented the coveted Spingarn Medal to Edward Kennedy ("Duke") Ellington in New York City on September 11. Presentation was made aboard the *S. S. United States,* Pier 86, at the foot of West 46th Street, just before Mr. Ellington sailed for Europe. Customarily, the Medal is awarded during the Association's annual convention, which was held this year in New York City, July 13-19. However, because of Mr. Ellington's out-of-city schedule the presentation had to be postponed until the morning of September 11.

Mr. Ellington, 44th Spingarn Medalist, was selected because of his outstanding contributions to American music over a long period of years. Among his better-known compositions are "Mood Indigo," "Solitude," "Harmony in Harlem," and "A Portrait of Bert Williams." He wrote the score for the current film, *Anatomy of a Murder* based on the novel of that name by John D. Voelker, a Michigan jurist. In 1957, Mr. Ellington's creation, "A Drum is a Woman," was produced for network telecast. His works have received world-wide recognition as representative of the best in American music today.

The Spingarn Medal was instituted in 1914 by the late J. E. Spingarn, then chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors, to call attention to outstanding achievement by American Negroes, to serve as a reward for such achievement, and to stimulate the ambition of colored youth.

It is a gold medal which is awarded "for the highest or noblest achievement by an American Negro during the preceding year or years." The Spingarn Medal is regarded as the most coveted award in this field. It has been won by scientists, educators, writers, artists, civic leaders, lawyers, publishers and others.

Among musicians who have received the medal are Miss Marian Anderson, 1939; Roland Hayes, 1924; and Harry T. Burleigh, 1917. Other recipients include Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Jackie Robinson, A. Philip Randolph, Mrs. Daisy Bates and the nine young students who broke the color bar at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957.

Mr. Spingarn, who died in 1939, left a fund sufficient to continue the award "to perpetuate the lifelong interest of my brother, Arthur B. Spingarn,

of my wife, Amy E. Spingarn, and of myself in the achievements of the American Negro."

Mr. Ellington has a long record of supporting the NAACP. He became a life member in 1939, twelve years after the first life member was enrolled and long before the program gained its current popularity.

He was responsible for raising $8,600 for his native Washington, D. C., NAACP branch in the spring of 1946. Mr. Ellington was presented in a mammoth NAACP benefit concert at New York's Metropolitan Opera House in January of 1951. The affair grossed more than $14,000.

Last year, Mr. Ellington served as co-chairman of the Association's Fight for Freedom Fund, along with Mrs. Margurite Belafonte.

Although Mr. Ellington has been a staunch NAACP supporter personally, the Spingarn Medal was awarded in recognition of his outstanding musical accomplishments. He is the first musician from the world of jazz to receive the Association's highest symbol of recognition.

In accepting the Medal, Mr. Ellington said:

"Recently a friend asked me why I thought American jazz was so much the vogue in other countries. I said, I thought the reason was that jazz means freedom and that today, freedom is the big word around the world. Well, if jazz means freedom, then jazz means peace because peace can come to mankind only when man is free.

"A few weeks ago some young jazz artists from Yale University pierced the iron curtain. And now, Mr. Khrushchev is coming to see how democracy works in our country. I feel deeply encouraged to know that he will come to a land where there is an NAACP, which stands for freedom and peace for all men. To thank the NAACP for this precious symbol of regard would be presumptive. So, I merely accept it on behalf of all my craft who, on these shores and abroad, make music for freedom. I accept it also as typifying the nicest bon voyage I have ever had—from some of the nicest people."

MISCELLANEOUS

The National Medical Association has launched a nationwide campaign to secure NAACP life memberships among members and their families. The drive is under the direction of Dr. J. Leonidas Leach of Flint, Michigan, a member of the NAACP national board. Dr. James L. McClendon, also a member of the national board and former president of the Detroit branch, will work closely with Dr. Leach.

At present, some 500 NMA members are fully-paid or subscribing NAACP life members.

¶ Jack E. Wood, NAACP special assistant for housing, has hailed the federal government's decision to stop relocating Negro families displaced by federally-assisted urban renewal programs according to race. The scrapping of the racial reservation stipulation in Section 221, Mr. Wood adds, is "a giant step toward establishing full equality under federally-assisted housing."

¶ The Association has passed its half-way mark in its Golden Anniversary drive for 500,000, according to director of NAACP branches Gloster B. Current.

¶ The *Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1959* has been "welcomed" by the NAACP as "an important advance in the continuing efforts to extend the frontiers of freedom."

In a statement issued on September 8, NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins said that the Commission's recommendation for the appointment of federal registrars to replace prejudiced state officials who refuse to register Negroes is "particularly significant."

If acted upon, Mr. Wilkins asserted, this recommendation "may provide the answer to present vexing evasions through which registration of Negro voters is kept at the minimum in some areas of the South. This proposal should be immediately implemented in order to assure southern Negroes the right to vote in the presidential and congressional elections next year."

The housing and education recommendations of the Commission, the NAACP leader said, "are helpful and an advance over present practices although they do not go far enough." While recognizing the validity of the Supreme Court rulings in the school segregation cases and calling for compliance, the Commission proposed no "effective governmental action to secure" compliance. The report failed to mention "measures empowering the Attorney General to initiate action to desegregate schools."

SPECIAL *community coordination committee that sponsored Mrs. Margurite Belafonte and the Vera Gunn Models of Philadelphia, Pa., in a fashion show for the Main Line branch, Ardmore, Pa.*

What the Branches Are Doing

Illinois: Members of the CHICAGO branch heard a report on the Association's fiftieth-annual convention at their July meeting. Ten delegates represented the branch at the convention in New York City, July 13-19.

The membership also accepted the two Thalheimer Awards won by the branch for outstanding activities during 1958. One award was given for being the largest branch in the NAACP, with over 19,000 members being credited to the 1958 membership campaign. The award also cited the branch for outstanding activities in housing and fund raising. The second award was for excellence of publications in 1958.

The Chicago branch, in August, issued a statement of "concern over increasing 'teen-age violence' ":

"The Chicago branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has expressed, on previous occasions, its deep concern over an apparent increase in violence on the part of teenagers.

"It has been reported to us, on more than one occasion, that in some instances where teen-agers have been guilty of violence, they have not been prosecuted in a manner which reflects the seriousness of their acts; and in one particular case, the person subjected to abuse was requested, at the police station, not to prefer charges against the guilty party even after the boy had confessed his guilt. The recent slaying of a CTA bus driver by a boy in the company of other teen-agers is evidence of the increasing seriousness of this situation. We are encouraged by the dispatch with which this case has been handled up to this point. But we are compelled to press for immediate action and prosecution of Weber. No longer should teen-agers who go looking for trouble and who take the lives of others be protected by their age. No longer should the City of Chicago aid and abet the increase in juvenile crime by soft sentences for severe offenses.

"The death of John DePriest, is a severe blow first, to his wife and child, and to the entire DePriest family, whose name is a part of the growth of Chicago through the late Oscar DePriest. It is also a blow to the City of Chicago, for the loss of this young life leaves one less upstanding citizen and one more blot on the face of Chicago."

Massachusetts: Fifth annual dinner dance of the BERKSHIRE COUNTY branch was held at Festival House, Lenox, on September 12.

Michigan: Members of the FLINT branch recently formed their own credit union. The new union has a potential membership of nearly 3,000 persons, according to Clarence L. Henderson of Flint, who played a key role in starting the new financial self-help group.

Minnesota: Sandra Lee Hampton and Leonard L. Davis were winners in the second annual scholarship contest of the SAINT PAUL branch. The participants were judged on the basis of essays. The scholarship awards are $250.00 each and the monies are contributed to the branch by sponsoring organizations.

President Leonard Carter of the Saint Paul branch has appointed Mrs. Pierce Butler III to the branch executive committee.

Nevada: The regular August 16 branch meeting of the RENO-NEVADA branch was devoted to reports from the branch delegates to the fiftieth annual convention of the NAACP held in New York City, July 13-19.

New England: The *Newsletter* of the NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL CONFERENCE reports three top branches in the region in freedom fund contributions for the period January 1 to July 6, 1959: Ridgefield, Connecticut, $436; Greenwhich, Connecticut, $377; and Berkshire County, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, $318.

The three top New England branches in NAACP life membership, January 1 to July 6, 1959, were Boston, $3,477; Bridgeport, $870; and New Haven, $810.

Total freedom fund contributions from seventeen branches, January 1 to July 6, in the New England region were $3,069.94; NAACP life membership payments from eight regional branches was $6,480.00.

New Jersey: The ELIZABETH branch has completed a very successful membership drive for 1959. With a quota of 1,000 members, the branch through hard work succeeded, however, in bringing in 1,550 members. Membership solicitors were stimulated by awards of a $50.00 and a $25.00

Mrs. Belle Lyles, president of the Good Samaritan Club of Saginaw, Michigan, makes first payment on her NAACP life membership to Rev. Roosevelt Austin, chairman of the Saginaw branch fighting fund for freedom committee.

E Bond to the persons bringing in the first and the second largest number of members. The person placing third was given a ticket to the freedom fund report dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, July 16.

The JERSEY CITY branch raised $1,200 at its regular monthly meeting held on July 22 in the Metropolitan AME Zion Church to protest against charges of brutality preferred by Joseph Lewis, Lester Lewis, and William McNear against patrolmen Edward Dougherty, George Langrehr, Edward Sherry, and Ralph Sheprow.

Principal speaker at the jammed-packed meeting was Jersey City branch president Raymond Brown, who is also attorney for the Lewises and McNear. Other speakers were the Rev. Jesse J. Jackson, pastor of Mt. Pisgah AME Church; the Rev. Ralph Brower, pastor of St. Michael Methodist Church; the Rev. Charles Gray, pastor Lafayette Presbyterian Church; and Attorney Raymond Chasin.

The assault charges were heard by magistrates John Gillick and Louis Kagan on July 30, but the four policemen were exonerated. The branch, however, will appeal the verdict to a higher court.

At the August meeting of the Jersey City branch, held in the Salem Baptist Church, "The Le Bastions," a club of local Negro policemen, presented a $500 scholarship to Lincoln Lawrence, son of Mr. and Mrs. William Lawrence of 31 Belmont Avenue. Mr. Lawrence matriculated at the Jersey City State College in September.

New York: The NAACP membership committee of the S. S. UNITED STATES launched its annual membership-and-contributions drive during August. The committee, in 1958, collected nearly a $1,000 plus three NAACP life memberships. Committee officers are John Dudley, chairman; Oswald Bonitto, co-chairman; Guillermo Ryan, treasurer; Raymond Cherry, secretary; and Tanner Smith, Publicity. James Plater, who organized the first NAACP committee aboard ship five years ago, and Guillermo Ryan are in charge of NAACP life memberships.

Brooklyn's Antioch Baptist Church, 828 Greene Avenue, launched in August a campaign to make every eligible church member a registered voter and every member an active member of the NAACP. Rev. George Lawrence is pastor of Antioch.

Pennsylvania: Alice E. Roye, membership chairman of the DARBY AREA branch, is now a paid-up NAACP life member.

The PITTSBURGH branch, working with the public affairs committee of the First Unitarian Church of Pittsburgh, diverted its civil-rights energies into the public health field recently by conducting two polio clinics in the Hill District, a section of the city with a large Negro population.

A total of 1,600 shots of the Salk polio-vaccine were given during the two clinics held in June and July. Doctors and nurses volunteered their services, thus making the "shots" available at the cost of the vaccine—fifty cents.

The PHILADELPHIA branch enrolled three NAACP life members during July and with its quota of twenty-five for 1959 the branch reports that, even at half year, it had exceeded this quota.

STATE CONFERENCES: The following state conferences have advised *The Crisis* of their place and meeting dates:

DATE	STATE CONFERENCE	PLACE
	September	
September 18-20	Ohio	Akron
September 26	New Jersey	Trenton
September 25-27	Tennessee	Memphis
	October	
October 3-4	Iowa	Council Bluffs
October 3-4	Northwest Area	Tacoma
October 8-11	North Carolina	Asheville
October 9-11	Virginia	Danville
October 16-18	New York	Newburgh
October 16-18	Missouri	Jefferson City
October 16-18	West Virginia	Huntington
October 22-25	South Carolina	Greenville
October 23-25	Illinois	Alton
October 23-25	Kansas	Kansas City
October 23-25	Pennsylvania	Pittsburgh
October 24-25	Colorado	Denver
October 31-November 1	West Coast Regional	Asilomar
	November	
November 5-8	Mississippi	Jackson
November 6-8	Arkansas	Little Rock
November 6-8	Texas	Beaumont
November 12-15	Georgia	
November 18-20	Oklahoma	Sepulpa
November .	Southwest Area	Phoenix

THEY HAVE JOINED UP FOR LIFE—*Delta Sigma Chapter, Norfolk, Virginia, of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, accepts its NAACP life membership plaque from R. D. Robertson, president, Norfolk branch. Mrs. J. L. McGriff is chapter president.* BOTTOM: *The Prudential Social & Civic Club, Mrs. Florence Jordan, president, receives its NAACP life membership plaque from branch president R. D. Robertson.*

Brooklyn-Long Island Lawyers Association, N. Y., takes out life membership in NAACP. Pictured (from L) are Wilmot Archibald, president; Rev. Milton Galamison, president Brooklyn branch; Probyn Thompson, membership chairman; Thomas Jones and George Fleary.

Club 75 receives, through its president Leon Tarfan, its NAACP life membership plaque from Joseph Overton (2nd from L), president of the Manhattan, N. Y., branch.

NAACP lawyers in Philadelphia, Pa., receive a $500 gift from the Women's Volunteer Corps for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

Mrs. Viola Phoenix, president, Committee of Friends, presents $500 - NAACP - life - membership check to Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary.

Mrs. Leonetta Washington, president of the Kansas Citians Club of Kansas City, Mo., along with three club members, presents the Club's check for $500 to Judge Carl Johnson for an NAACP life membership.

State Knights of Pythias Lodge of South Bend, Indiana, through its Grand Chancellor James Barlow, accepts an NAACP life membership certificate from South Bend branch president Mrs. Charles Wills.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP—*Mrs. Rubye Williams (R), president of the Pasadena branch, accepts a check for $200 from Mrs. Dora Taylor as down payment for a Jack and Jill life membership in the NAACP.*

Cecil Layne

FLORENCE LUCAS, *president of the Jamaica, N. Y., branch accepts a $500 check for an NAACP life membership from Dr. Hilliard Berry, president, Queens Clinical Society. The Queens Clinical Society is composed of dentists and physicians in the Borough of Queens, N. Y.*

THE GOOD CHEER NEIGHBORHOOD CLUB *makes a $300 installment on its NAACP life membership to R. D. Robertson, president of the Norfolk, Virginia, branch of the NAACP. Mrs. Beatrice McLaurin is the club president.*

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Please give us three weeks' notice when you want to change your address. Please send your old as well as your new address. Better still, send us the stenciled address label, which will have your old address.

College and School News

Dr. John O. Perpener, new vice-president of JARVIS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, was a recent speaker at the Texas Christian Missionary Convention held in Greenville, Texas.

■

"This is the most gratifying year in our eleven-year history," said Richard L. Plaut, president of the NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS, in announcing the 1959-60 awards made by NSSFNS. College scholarships from 65 colleges, amounting to some $46,000, and NSSFNS supplementary scholarships totaling almost $25,000 have been granted this year to students from twenty-three states, the District of Columbia, and the Virgin Islands.

■

Whether African nations will align with Russia or the West was the subject of discussion at a special African Study Center roundtable held on July 21 at THE NEW SCHOOL, New York City.

■

A proposed plan for the redevelopment of the 125th Street area of Harlem, including facilities for transportation, recreation, business, education, and housing has been outlined by the NEW YORK UNIVERSITY graduate school of public administration and social service.

The plan is the result of a nine-month study conducted by students in the School's advanced urban planning design class taught by Robert C. Weinberg, adjunct professor of urban planning.

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Write:

DIRECTOR of ADMISSIONS and PLACEMENT

Tenth annual Lutheran Human Relations Institute was held at VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY (Valparaiso, Indiana) July 24-26. Sessions of the Institute were followed by a five-day human-relations workshop for professional church people.

■

The American College of Surgeons has approved MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE's hospital cancer program. The approval is for a three-year period.

■

Reverend Richard A. Rollins, chairman of the Division of Religion and Philosophy and dean of the chapel at BISHOP COLLEGE, delivered the summer commencement-convocation address on July 30. Thirteen graduates received their degrees.

Bishop opened its fall term on September 2 with the following faculty additions and changes: Dr. Doxey A. Wilkerson joins the faculty as professor of education and chairman of the division of education; his wife joins the staff as an instructor in education and director of testing. Dr. Walter Storrs will serve as acting chairman of the division of religion and philosophy while Rev. Richard Rollins studies towards the doctorate at Boston University. Rev. H. L. Thompson returns from a year of study towards his doctorate at Boston University to the division of religion and philosophy and to serve as dean of the chapel.

Dr. Emanuel Sarkisyanza, a Guggenheim fellow on leave for the past three years, returns as professor of history.

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- School of Law
- Graduate School
- School of Music
- School of Religion
- College of Medicine
- College of Dentistry
- College of Pharmacy
- School of Social Work
- College of Liberal Arts
- School of Engineering & Architecture

18 NATIONAL HONOR SOCIETIES
ADVANCED ARMY AND AIR R.O.T.C.

Write
DIRECTOR OF ADMISSIONS

Since the nationwide UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND appeal was officially launched in Indianapolis, April 12, campaigns have been undertaken in 181 communities, according to Bruce Barton, 1959 national campaign chairman. Mr. Barton is chairman of the board of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, advertising agency.

■

TWO TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE alumni have been awarded National Science Foundation Fellowships: H. M. Thompson, to do further study in mathematics at Yale; John I. Hendricks, Jr., to attend the 1959-60 academic year institute at the University of Michigan, where he will work toward his master's degree in chemistry.

Tougaloo alumnus, '55, Robert Teague has been granted a United States Public Health trainseeship in psychiatric social work, Level I, at the University of Illinois school of social work for the academic year 1959-60. Arvarh Strickland, also a Tougaloo alumnus, has accepted a Woodrow Wilson fellowship to study toward his Ph.D. degree in history at the University of Illinois.

■

Cleothus C. Harvey, a June '55 honor graduate of SUMNER HIGH SCHOOL (St. Louis, Missouri), has been elected to Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Missouri. Miss Harvey is the first Negro to be elected to Phi Beta Kappa, the honorary scholastic fraternity, at the University of Missouri.

■

Second annual meeting of the African Studies Association, which featured some 40 distinguished national authorities in the field, was held at BOSTON UNIVERSITY September 7-9. More than 200 members of the Association attended the meeting during which 31 research papers on the African continent were delivered by experts at three plenary sessions and six sectional meetings.

■

Formal opening exercises of the ninety-second session of JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY was held in the university church on September 16.

President R. P. Perry reports the following faculty changes and additions: Dr. Harbans Singh joins the faculty as an assistant professor of education; Rev. Calvin Hoods returns as an instructor in the school of theology; and Bernice Spence becomes an assistant librarian.

Several faculty members will be on leave this year: Jack Brayboy, associate professor of physical education, will complete the requirements for his Ph. D; Dr. C. R. Blake, associate professor of English, will complete the writing of a book at the University of Michigan; and Mrs. Anne Buck will finish her Ph.-D. dissertation in zoology at the University of Michigan.

■

President Martin D. Jenkins announces the promotion of eight MORGAN STATE COLLEGE faculty members, one to the rank of full professor. Promoted from associate professor to professor of English was Dr. Philip Butcher; from assistant professor to associate professor, Dr. Harold Delaney, Dr. Ulysses S. Stubbs, Jr., chemistry; and Dr. T. Vivian Winder, head of the department of home economics.

Four were promoted from the rank of instructor to assistant professor: Embra Bowie and Dorothy Phelps, health and physical education; Harold Chinn and Walter Ryan, department of English.

All promotions became effective September 1.

A grant of $103,000 from the Ford Foundation has made possible the establishment of an Institution for Political Education at Morgan. Dr. G. James Fleming, Morgan professor of political science, is the

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director; Dwynal Pettengill, formerly on the faculty at Goucher College, is the assistant director.

■

Delegates from thirty private colleges attended the ninth annual planning conference of Cooperative Intercollegiate Examination Program held at HAMPTON INSTITUTE September 4-5. This year is the first time that high school administrators have been invited to attend the conference.

Membership in the CIEP is made up of thirty United Negro College Fund institutions of higher learning which began a testing program in 1951 as a service of the Fund colleges to secondary schools. Purpose of the program is to develop and administer tests to evaluate the academic qualifications of high school students planning to apply for college admission and scholarships.

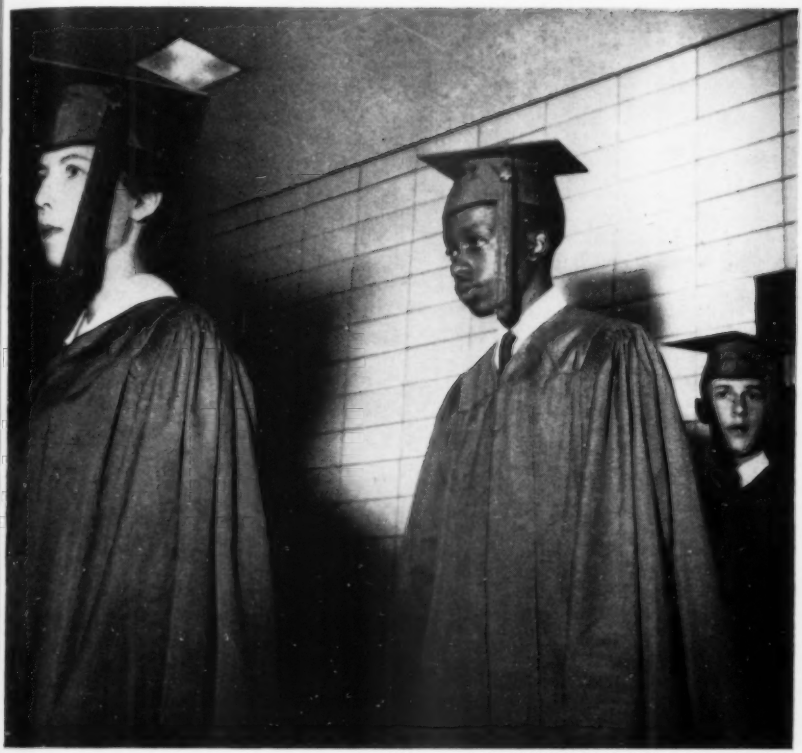
Data just developed by the UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN's Detroit Area Study show that college-educated family breadwinners living in metropolitan Detroit enjoyed a six per cent increase in income during 1958. In sharp contrast, those with less than seven years of formal schooling suffered a 19 per cent drop in family income compared to 1957. Negroes, many of whom are recent migrants and clustered in semi-skilled factory jobs, and having comparatively less education than whites, were especially hard hit by the recession.

■

Dr. Samuel D. Proctor, president of Virginia Union University, delivered the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY commencement address on August 6 at which time 87 candidates were awarded graduate degrees. Sixteen students received the master's degree from the graduate school of arts and sciences, fifty the master of arts in education, eleven the master of science in library service, nine the master of business administration, and one the master of social work.

Sabbaticals have been awarded Dr. Edward K. Weaver, professor of education, to accept an important position with the Nigerian government; and Dr. Samuel Z. Westerfield, dean of the school of business administration, to accept an appointment as guest professor of business administration in the Harvard University graduate school of business administration.

Dr. Tilman Cothran, one-time professor of sociology at Arkansas AM&N College, has accepted the chairmanship of the department of sociology at Atlanta.



Wide World

FIRST NEGRO GRADUATE—*Gus Roberts, 17 (center), is shown standing in line on June 2 as he became the first Negro to graduate from the white Central High School, Charlotte, North Carolina.*

President Rudolph Jones of FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE has announced thirteen additions to his college faculty and staff.

Fayetteville staff member Lauraetta Taylor, instructor in health and physical education, has matriculated at the University of Pittsburgh; Arthur J. Pindle, college business manager, spent the summer, July 26-August 1, attending the tenth annual short course in business administration for business officers at colleges and universities at the University of Omaha.

Harris

VIRGINIA VALENTINE, *a tri-boro area leader of the Century Club of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The Century Club has been successfully active in signing up members and collecting monies for the NAACP.*

United Press

BEGIN WORK ON CIVIL RIGHTS—*The six members of the new Civil Rights Commission, created to guard minority rights, get down to work in an office near the White House shortly after they were sworn in in the President's office in the White House. From L they are Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, J. Ernest Wilkins, John S. Battle, chairman John A. Hannah, Doyle E. Carlton, and Robert G. Storey.*

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF THE CRISIS. Published monthly October to May inclusive; bi-monthly June-July and Aug.-Sept. at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1959.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 20 West 40th St., New York 18; Editor, James W. Ivy, 20 West 40th St., New York 18; Managing editor, James W. Ivy, 20 West 40th St., New York 18; Business manager, Roy Wilkins, 20 West 40th St., New York 18.

2. The owner is: (if owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.; Arthur B. Spingarn, President, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.; John Hammond, Vice President, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.; Samuel Williams, Secretary, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.; Theodore Spaulding, Treasurer, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.; Roy Wilkins, Assistant Secretary, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) All stock owned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and tri-weekly newspapers only.)

James W. Ivy, *Editor*

State of New York
County of New York
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of September, 1959.

Helen Greiff

(My commission expires March 30, 1960)

Book Reviews

ENDURING EXUBERANCE

***Selected Poems of Langston Hughes.* Drawings by E. McKnight Kauffer. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959. XII+297pp. $5.00.**

It is somewhat difficult to accept the fact that Langston Hughes has for thirty-eight years been before the public as a poet, because there is throughout his works, in whatever form, an enduring exuberance of spirit such as one usually finds and expects only in the young.

Of the 186 entries included in his *Selected Poems,* a majority—and certainly the best known—originally appeared in *The Crisis;* indeed, the widely translated and often anthologized "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" — with which he set the course of his career as a poet—appeared first in *The Crisis* for June, 1921; and as recently as December, 1958, he contributed, through *The Crisis,* "Four Christian Poems." Hence Langston Hughes has warmed the house that welcomed him with a steady flow of soft, living language.

His poetry comes to us from within —it is easy to come from within, provided one ever gets there; ay, there's the rub. And because he is humble enough to live within the experience of his people, one finds more authenticity in those twenty lines of, for example, "Mother and Son," than in the imposing cultural histories:

> Well, son, I'll tell you:
> Life for me ain't been no crystal stair.
> It's had tacks in it,
> And splinters,
> And boards torn up,
> And places with no carpet on the floor—
> Bare. . . .

In this poetry words serve the mood and convey the feeling: they are words of wisdom rather than a wisdom with words. He has a way with words which brings the sense all the way home, as in the concluding lines of "Trumpet Player":

> But softly
> As the tune comes from his throat
> Trouble
> Mellows to a golden note.

He is at his best in short sweet songs of saddest thought, as in "Suicide's Note":

> The calm,
> Cool face of the river
> Asked me for a kiss.

He is at his bitterest on "The South":

> The lazy, laughing South
> With blood on its mouth.
> The sunny-faced South,

Beast-strong,
Idiot-brained. . . .

He is in his idiom singing the blues—he *can* sing them because he has them!—as: may be felt in "Late Last Night":

Late last night I
Sat on my steps and cried,
Wasn't nobody gone,
Neither had nobody died.

Speaking of life through people, he points to "Ruby Brown" whom Mayville offered no "fuel for the clean flame of joy/That tried to burn within her soul," so she changed occupational traps, leaving the white woman's kitchen for the sinister shuttered house where white men paid her more money.

In general, his subjects (they are never his objects) are those people with whom he lives and who like him have made the journey from rural to urban setting—from the scorching sun of corn and cotton fields to hovels in Harlem; his overall theme is how they fare with dreams deferred; his big sea is their restless hopes and hearts; his poetry the songs of their experience.

One wishes that these magnificently bound poems were dated so as to provide for some chronological approach to Hughes as a writer. One wonders how he would sound if he treated the church-centered, spiritual aspect of Negro life as faithfully as he deals with the secular problems; or the evil-natured with unsparing truth. But this perhaps asks him to be what he is not. For certainly, as they are, these poems are worthy of having and handing down to unborn generations.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

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***Brown Girl, Brownstones.* A novel by Paule Marshall. New York: Random House, 1959. 310pp. $3.95.**

This is Mrs. Marshall's first published book, and she has written a very good novel indeed. The brown girl, the heroine of the story, is Bajan-American Selena Boyce; the brownstones refer to the reddish-brown sand-

LANGSTON HUGHES has been a regular contributor to *The Crisis* for more than thirty-five years, since 1921. A bibliography of his writings extracted a few years ago from the bound volumes of *The Crisis* shows more than 100 listings of his work published therein since 1921. The best known of Mr. Hughes' poems, those most often anthologized and widely translated into various languages, originally appeared in *The Crisis;* "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," "Mother to Son," "Cross," "The South," "When Sue Wears Red," "Note on Commercial Theatre," and "Africa," among others. All of these poems are included in *Selected Poems.*

"I feel that I owe a great debt of gratitude to the NAACP," writes Mr. Hughes, "not only because the pages of *The Crisis* were open to me for publication over the years, but because of the numerous opportunities given me by various branches of the NAACP to read my poems in cities throughout the country. . ."

Mr. Hughes is one of the most anthologized and widely translated of American poets. M. René Depestre, the Haitian poet, writes: "Famous in the United States at the age of twenty-five, Mr. Hughes is also known in Africa and Europe. He is, with Nicolás Guillén [1902, Cuba], Aimé Césaire [1913, Martinique] and Léopold Sédar Senghor [1906, Senegal], one of the greatest living Negro poets." *Présence Africaine* (February-March, 1956), p. 165.

stone, three- and four-story houses in the Fulton-State Street area during the Depression. The plot is tenuous, and what little there is is concerned with Deighton Boyce's nostalgia for the Barbados and his wife Silla's resolve to make a new world for her family in the USA. Although much of the action revolves around the antagonisms of her parents, the easy-going Deighton and the iron-willed Silla, the real drama is in the growing up of Selena, who is torn by loyalty to both.

The author blends the personal story of the Boyces with the lives of "raw-raw Bajans," notably Selena's sister Ina, Florie Trotman, and the "real-real Bajan woman," sensual Suggie Skeete. Mrs. Marshall writes about the things—jobs, money, hopes, fears, etc.—that keep life moving, and she does it in a poetically evocative prose peppered with that inimitable Bajan idiom. There is earthy humor in the book too, but there is also pathos and tenderness.

Mrs. Marshall is a first-generation American born in Brooklyn of immigrant Barbadian parents.

***Basic Skills For Better Writing:* A Guide and Practice Book for Those Who Intend to Master the Essentials of Good English. By Nick Aaron Ford and Waters E. Turpin. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1959. VI+192pp. $3.50.**

This work is the joint effort of two Morgan State College professors and was written as an answer to the problems they encountered in the teaching of freshmen English. They have used their classroom experiences—samples of student errors—as examples and illustrations of the essential English skills which they discuss.

Main features of the manual are substitution of illustrations for examples wherever possible, avoidance of abstract grammatical analysis, and the use of creative exercises which make the students think.

ELSIE ARCHER, *author of* Let's Face It.

***Let's Face It:* A Guide to Good Grooming for Negro Girls. By Elsie Archer. With decorations by Harper Johnson. Philadelphia & New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1959. 186pp. $2.95.**

Although written specifically for Negro girls, *Let's Face It* is actually a girl's guide to good grooming, correct manners, and health, which Montaigne calls "the fairest and richest present that nature can make us." The author's advice about care of the body, face and hair, mouth, hands, and feet is practicable; just the sort of common-sense counsel which young girls seek. She likewise offers worthwhile suggestions about clothes, talk, and personality not with the idea of turning out lassies with *un effet boeuf*, but of making them charming and wholesome American girls. The book is written in simple language and every girl can improve herself by consulting it. Mr.

Johnson's drawings are a convincing accompaniment to the text.

***That Big Broozer.* By Benzell Graham. Illustrated by Paul Galdone. New York: William Morrow & Company, 1959. 80pp. $2.75.**

This is a vividly told children's story about a dog, Broozer (not Bruiser), who did not like being left by his master, Jim Matthews. Although Broozer had a home, no one, it seems, took any particular interest in him. And when people did become friendly, he unintentionally frightened them away by jumping upon them. He found the gate open one day and ran out—to land in a dogcatcher's truck. He led a lonely life in the animal shelter until he became friendly with a little boy who understood him. Mr. Galdone's illustrations add both to the effectiveness and the humor of the story. Children will enjoy gamboling with likeable, friendly Broozer in the pages of Miss Graham's book.

***Continuity and Change in African Cultures.* Edited by William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959. VII+309pp. $7.00.**

Continuity and Change in African Cultures is a collection of papers read at an interdisciplinary conference on Africa at Princeton University in 1953 by persons trained, or students, in the Department of Anthropology in Northwestern University. The homogeneity of their training and familiarity with Herskovits *Man and His Works* is most apparent. There is some unevenness, however, in the contributions. For this reviewer the most informative one is "Africa as a Linguistic Area," by Joseph H. Greenberg. Mr. Greenberg presents evidence for his contention that "there of necessity falls to linguistics a significant role in unraveling the history of the African continent." His categorical statement that "the racial and cultural-historical Hamitic theory lacks a linguistic foundation" makes further investigation imperative with regard to many theories for the peopling and racial composition of Africa. It may be that those who desire to link northern Africa with southern Europe may have to revise their thinking in keeping with linguistic evidence that the "European influences of the last several centuries . . . on

BENZELL GRAHAM, *author of* That Big Boozer.

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the linguistic life of Africa would probably have to be judged as relatively small, compared with that of Arabic. The essential continuity of African culture in spite of drastic changes is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in language."

While reading "Polygyny in African Demography" one is reminded of the difficulties and problems of making something approximating an accurate census for underdeveloped areas. There is some emphasis on the inaccuracy of assuming polygyny is the general rule, in the absence of supporting quantitative evidence, because polygyny is permitted and a few men have a large number of wives. "Ethnohistory in the Study of Culture Change" indicates clearly the value of the methods of ethnohistory in the investigation and study of contemporary peoples and their problems. The Pakot, with their "feeling that they are inferior to no one and superior to all," are an interesting example of resistance to change. However the use in this article of Hamites, Nilotics and Bantu, because of the old connotations of these terms, does make for some confusion.

"The Dynamics of the Ngombe Segmentary System" and "Marriage and Kinship among the Ashanti and the Agni" are essentially studies of kinship structures, although there is an attempt to show how knowledge of kinship structure has been used by the colonial governments, and the results when different colonial policies are used with groups having similar precontact cultures.

"The position of Women among the Afrikpo Ibo" is an excellent and well-written presentation. From "Economic Change and Mossi Acculturation" the reader learns more about religion and religious change than economics and economic change among the Mossi. The papers on religious acculturation and the Fanti Priesthood, because they are sketchy, gave the reader the impression they might be summaries of the literature on the subject or of more detailed monographs.

All the contributors to *Continuity and Change in African Cultures* demonstrate knowledge of the literature on the subject under consideration and, in general, are objective. All the contributors have done field work. This book may be read with profit for a more intelligent understanding of the existing complexities of Africa.

IRENE DIGGS

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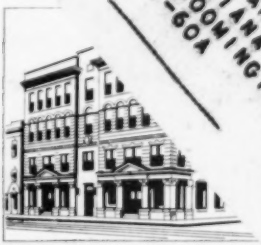

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